

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02  
CU-02 EB-07 OMB-01 COME-00 FEAE-00 INT-05 TRSE-00  
/092 W

-----261735Z 058333 /46

O 261600Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6155

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0862

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SF

SUBJ: INITIAL INDICATIONS OF SAG POLICIES FOLLOWING

MONDALE-VORSTER MEETING

REF: CAPE TOWN 0836

1. SUMMARY: INITIAL SAG RESPONSE TO VIENNA MEETING,  
AS SEEN THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF TOP LEADERS, IS  
DESIGNED TO RALLY SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES AROUND ITS STAND  
AGAINST USG CALL FOR BASIC CHANGE AND AT THE SAME TIME  
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REASSURE THEM IT IS NOT BEING INTRANSIGENT. THERE ARE  
ALSO TENTATIVE INDICATIONS SAG MAY MOUNT CAMPAIGN  
ABROAD TO CONVINCE WEST THAT NEW US POLICY WILL  
FACILITATE RATHER THAN DISCOURAGE SOVIET EXPLOITATION  
OF UNREST IN SOUTH AFRICA AND TO APPEAL TO AMERICAN  
PEOPLE OVER THE HEAD OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. THE  
INITIAL RESPONSE MAY PROVE TRANSITIONAL AND CHANGE

AFTER THE SAG HAS HAD TIME TO REFLECT ON VIENNA IMPLICATIONS AND CONSULT PARTY LEADERSHIP. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE MAY 27 ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAY PROVIDE FURTHER CLUES OF HOW SAG PLANS TO HANDLE NEW SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. LESS THAN A WEEK AFTER THE VIENNA MEETING THERE ARE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS OF WHAT THE SAG RESPONSE TO THE NEW US POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE. IT HAS THESE ELEMENTS:

A. REASSURE THE WHITES THAT THERE WILL BE NO DRASTIC CHANGE AND RALLY THEM AROUND THE GOVERNMENT BY PLAYING ON THEIR FEARS OF BLACK DOMINATION.

B. EMPHASIZE TO THE WEST THE DANGERS OF COMMUNIST CONTROL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MINERAL RESOURCES AND THE CAPE ROUTE.

C. DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SAG IS NOT OBDURATE IN OPPOSING CHANGE BY ACCELERATING THE PACE OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND REDUCING DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE OR COLOR.

D. APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, OVER THE HEAD OF PRESIDENT CARTER, TO ALERT THEM TO THE DANGER OF COMMUNIST DOMINATION WHICH THE NEW US POLICY HOLDS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TO GAIN THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SAG'S EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO ITS OWN REALITIES.

3. REASSURANCE TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY THAT THERE WILL BE NO DRASTIC CHANGE WAS SPELLED OUT CLEARLY IN COMMENTS  
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BY FOREIGN MINISTER "PIK" BOTHA DURING PRESS INTERVIEW IN VIENNA MAY 21. CLAIMING THAT US HAD "THREATENED" SAG WITH WORSENING RELATIONS IF IT DID NOT "TOE THE LINE" ACCORDING TO US "NORMS AND STANDARDS," BOTHA SAID, "WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH MUST INEVITABLY LEAD TO OUR DESTRUCTION. IT DOES NOT MATTER WHAT NAME YOU GIVE IT, DESTRUCTION IS DESTRUCTION." SAME THEME WAS USED BY STATE PRESIDENT DIEDERICHS IN MAY 21 SPEECH AT DURBAN WHEN HE SAID SA WOULD DO ALL IT COULD TO PRESERVE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS BUT "WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT SUICIDE TO SATISFY SELFISH DESIRES OF OTHERS. IF NECESSARY, WE SHALL FIGHT TO THE BITTER END." DIEDERICHS ADDED BY NOW FAMILIAR EMBELLISHMENT THAT DEMANDS TO ABANDON TRADITIONAL VALUES AND PRINCIPLES WERE PART OF A "DESIGN" TO "DESTROY OUR CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE." WHILE NOT SPELLED OUT, IMPLICATION OF THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT IS THAT "FULL PARTICIPATION" MEANS ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE WHICH IN TURN WOULD RESULT IN TURNING OVER COUNTRY TO BLACK MAJORITY

WITH ENSUING POLITICAL TURMOIL AND THE RISK OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER.

4. COMMUNIST DANGER THEME HAS BEEN SOUNDED BY DIEDERICH, VORSTER AND BOTHA. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, IN INTERVIEW WITH FIGARO NEWSPAPER IN GENEVA (AS CARRIED IN LOCAL PRESS), ELABORATED ON SOVIET THREAT, WARNING THAT SOVIETS AIMED AT "WORLD MONOPOLY" OF RAW MATERIALS BY "SEIZING" SOUTH AFRICA AND ZAIRE. IN THIS WAY, SOVIETS COULD DENY EUROPE VITAL RAW MATERIALS AND, BY DOMINATING CAPE SEA ROUTE, COULD, IN TIME OF WAR, CUT OFF EUROPE'S OIL SUPPLIES. SPEAKING OF HIS MEETING WITH IVORY COAST PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, VORSTER SAID IVORY COAST WAS "AS CONCERNED AS SOUTH AFRICA" ABOUT COMMUNISM IN AFRICA. DIEDERICH DWELT AT LENGTH ON COMMUNIST EVILS IN HIS MAY 21 SPEECH, CITING EFFORTS TO FOMENT CLASS HATRED AND REVOLUTION AND DESTROY FRIENDLY TIES AMONG NATIONS. IN  
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FACE OF COMMUNIST THREAT OF WORLD DOMINATION, THE "SO-CALLED" DEMOCRACIES OF THE WEST HAD SHOWN ONLY WEAKNESS. BOTHA SAID USG HAD CONCLUDED IT WILL NOT AND CANNOT STOP RUSSIAN SUCCESSES IN AFRICA MILITARILY OR DIPLOMATICALLY AND NEW US POLICY IS EFFORT TO "CURRY FAVOR" WITH RADICAL ELEMENTS IN AFRICA TO ATTEMPT TO HALT "RUSSIAN ADVANCE."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0862

5. REGARDING THE SAG'S WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE, VORSTER IN HIS VIENNA PRESS CONFERENCE ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THERE IS ALREADY FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT "IN A VERY COMPLEX SOCIETY, WE ARE DOING OUR LEVEL BEST TO DO JUSTICE TO EVERY POPULATION GROUP." TO REINFORCE THE SAG'S INSISTENCE THAT IT IS NOT STANDING PAT ON RACIAL ISSUES, MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SPORTS PIET KOORNHOF DELIVERED MAJOR POLICY SPEECH IN CAPE TOWN MAY 24 (CAPE TOWN 0863) IN WHICH HE SPELLED OUT THE CONCEPT OF "CULTURAL PLURALISM" WHICH WOULD APPLY TO THE "NON-HOMELANDS" AREA OF SA AND IN WHICH EACH ETHNIC GROUP  
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(WHITES, COLOREDS AND INDIANS) WOULD RUN OWN LOCAL AFFAIRS WHILE AT NATIONAL LEVEL RULE WOULD BE BY "CONSENSUS" AND "COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING." SYSTEM WOULD ALLOW FOR "EQUAL COEXISTENCE" OF PEOPLE OF DIVERSE CQTURE AND COLOR, WOULD ENSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNTIIY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN VALUES BUT WOULD ALSO INCLUDE "THE RIGHT NOT TO ASSIMILATE." KOORNHOF PORTRAYED THIS AS LOGICAL PROGRESSION FROM EXISTING APARTHEID POLICIES INCLUDING PRESERVATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS. HE SUGGESTED SYSTEM WOULD IN LONG TERM EVOLVE INTO SWISS CANTO TYPE SYSTEM. WHILE TAKING GREAT CARE NOT TO APPEAR TO ADVOCATE IT, KOORNHOF EVEN TOOK NOTE OF "SOME PEOPLE" WHO BELIEVE THAT "AT LEAST IN THEORY" URBAN BLACKS MIGHT "IN TIME" BE INCLUDED IN SUCH A SYSTEM. NATIONALIST PARTY FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN P.H. MEYER TOLD CONGENOFF MAY 25 THAT LACK OF DETAILS IN KOORNHOF SPEECH WAS DELIBERATE, THAT WHEN CHANGES ARE MADE IT IS INTENDED THAT THEY WILL BE LASTING AND THAT HE EXPECTED BY EARLY NEXT YEAR PARTY WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO BEGIN PARLIAMENTARY AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES. IN LIGHT OF VIENNA, VORSTER MAY ADVANCE THIS TIMETABLE.

6. POSSIBILITY THAT SAG MIGHT ATTEMPT COUNTER NEW US POLICY BY APPEALING DIRECTLY TO US PUBLIC OVER THE HEAD OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS STATED EXPLICITLY BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IN HIS GENEVA PRESS CONFERENCE (REFTTEL). A REMARKABLE EDITORIAL IN MAY 24 ISSUE OF LEADING AFRIKAANS NEWSPAPER DIE BURGER LENDS SUPPORT TO CONCLUSION THAT SAG BELIEVES THAT DIRECT APPEAL TO US PUBLIC IS A REALISTIC POLICY OPTION HOLDING OUT SOME HOPE OF SUCCESS. EDITORIAL STATES THAT NEW US POLICY AMOUNTS TO "INCITEMENT OF BLACK AGAINST WHITE" WHICH IS "MORE DANGEROUS THAT THAT FROM MOSCOW BECAUSE OF ITS MORE RESPECTABLE GUISE." EDITORIAL SAYS SOUTH AFRICA "MUST GO TO SOURCE OF POLICY,"  
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I.E. EMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, WHERE THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS OF BACKLASH AGAINST "ECSTATIC AND UNIVERSALIST IDEALISM ...WHICH IS SEMI-RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED." EDITORIAL CONTINUES THAT RACIAL WOUNDS STILL RAW IN US AND "FOMENTING RACIAL CONFRONTATION ELSEWHERE" HAS POTENTIAL OF "SPLITTING US FROM TOP TO BOTTOM AS NEVER SINCE THEIR CIVIL WAR." US POLICY IS "BASICALLY RACIST" SINCE IT EMPHASIZES EVILS OF "WHITE DICTATORSHIP" WHILE IGNORING BLACK ONES AND PRESIDENT CARTER "BECOMES A FELLOW-TRAVELER OF BLACK TYRANNY (AND OF MOSCOW) IN STRIVING FOR DOWNFALL OF SOME AFRICAN NATION..." EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT US POLICY STILL BEING SHAPED AND SOUTH AFRICA IS "NOT WITHOUT MEANS TO INFLUENCE AMERICAN PROCESSES IN ORDER TO BRING IT NEARER TO DEMANDS OF STATESMANSHIP." GIVEN FACT THAT DIE BURGER EDITOR PIET CILLIE IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH NATIONALIST PARTY HIGH COMMAND AND FREQUENTLY REFLECTS PARTY POLICY AND STRATEGY, THIS EDITORIAL MAY BE SIGNIFICANT. FULL TEXT BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL.

7. COMMENT: FOREGOING ASSESSMENT, BASED EXCLUSIVELY ON PUBLIC STATEMENTS, OUTLINES ONLY PRELIMINARY SAG RESPONSE TO NEW US POLICY OUTLINED AT VIENNA. FOR THE MEMENT SAG SEEMS TO BE SAYING TO THE DOMESTIC AUDIENCE TWO THINGS: (A) WE WILL NOT BE STAMPEDED INTO SUICIDAL ACTIONS BY FOREIGN PRESSURE, AND (B) WE ARE NOT INTERANSIGENTLY OPPOSED TO CHANGE BUT ARE GOING ABOUT IT IN A WAY THAT REFLECTS OUR SPECIAL SITUATION. THIS IS DESINGED TO REASSURE BOTH THOSE WHO OPPOSE MAJOR DEVIATIONS FROM SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND THOSE WHO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS INTRANSIGENCE. TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES THE MESSAGE SEEMS TO BE: (A) THE AMERICANS HAVE NOT THOUGHT THROUGH WHAT THEY PRESCRIBE BECAUSE IT WOULD RISK DISORDER AND COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION WHICH IS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE WEST, AND (B) WE ARE MOVING AWAY FROM RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND PROVIDING INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES

FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL GROUPS, WHICH IS WHAT  
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THE WEST SAYS IT WANTS.

8. THE ELEMENTS THIS INITIAL REACTION ARE NOT  
NECESSARILY THE POLICIES THAT THE SAG WILL PURSUE  
AFTER IT HAS HAD TIME TO REFLECT ON ALL THE IMPLICATIONS  
OF THE VIENNA MEETING AND TO CONSULT WITH DIFFERENT  
ELEMENTS OF NATIONALIST PARTY. TOMMORROW'S PARLIAMENTARY  
DEBATE, WHEN VORSTER AND BOTHA ARE BOTH EXPECTED TO  
SPEAK, MAY PROVIDE FURTHER INDICATIONS OF DIRECTION OF  
SAG RESPONSE. BOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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